LABOR VIEWS THE 1954 ELECTIONS: JACOB S. POTOFSKY

THE Nation

May 8, 1954
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by the Editors

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Around the U.S.A.

There's Depression in the Kentucky Hills

Pikeville, Kentucky

THERE may be debate elsewhere about whether the economy is undergoing a recession or a "healthy, rolling readjustment," but there can be no quibbling about the way to describe what is happening in the eastern Kentucky coalfields. Depression is the right word.

Nearly one-third of Kentucky's miners are laid off, and only a few of the others are still working full time. Here in the Big Sandy field some 7,000 persons are on relief in Pike County alone. They come out of the hills and hollows into this mountain-locked town for food once or twice a week, gathering in front of a little white building beside the Chesapeake and Ohio tracks.

Inside the building, the town's newest "grocery store," Captain Harold L. Davis of the Salvation Army, checks their papers and distributes supplies. His customers are mostly jobless miners or their women; his stock is surplus food from the United States Department of Agriculture.

"We have about 7,000 people getting this food now," he explains, "and it will be 8,000 or more by the end of the month. All told, food for 9,000 has been allocated to this county." He can't offer his customers much variety: they are limited to canned beef and gravy, dry milk, butter, cheese, and shortening. "Each family can get the food only once a month, and it isn't really enough to stretch out that long for most families."

Only about 3,000 men are now working in the mines in Pike County, and in the last week of March miners in the Big Sandy field averaged only 2.3 days of work a week. The county, largest in area in the state, has a population of about 80,000. Insured unemployed number 4,000, the highest since World War II. Many of the people who are getting the surplus food have exhausted their unemployment benefits and are not on the rolls any longer.

On the surface, Pikeville looks much as usual, except for the number of men standing or sitting in front of the county courthouse. Merchants are feeling the pinch, but they are still in business. However, Pikeville itself isn't a mining town; the mines are in the hills fifteen or more miles distant, and you must visit the settlements clustered around them to see the picture in sharp focus.

Lookout, with its depressing mustard-yellow houses, is up near the head of Marrowbone Creek, tucked away among hills dotted now with blooming redbud. The nearby Henry Clay mine, employing about 450 men, closed in the fall of 1952.

"I BEEN in this hollow since 1919," a big miner named Hobart Castle said, "and, by God, it's never been worse than now." He looked around for confirmation from the other men standing or sitting in cars near the railroad track in front of the general store. "We're about done on this creek," Castle said. "There's only two men in this town working now, and one of them is working in West Virginia."

"That's right," another man said. "Even in the big depression it wa'n't so bad—things didn't cost so much then, and back in the '30's you could plant a little something around here, but our soil's gone now. You could plant a pound of beans then and get as much as out of five pounds now—same with a sack o' taters." I asked how much work most of the men had had since the mine closed. "I'd say a month'd kill a year," Castle answered.

Thirty-year-old Jess Bowling, who has a wife and three children, said his only income now is $14 a week in unemployment compensation, which he can draw for another sixteen weeks. "But there's some in this hollow with eight and nine kids not drawing anything," he said. "If it weren't for credit I don't know what we'd do."

"I don't know how much longer the storekeepers can carry us," another man said, "probably not much longer now."

When the United Mine Workers recently cut off relief payments from the welfare fund with the explanation that the union held relief was a government responsibility, the men didn't grumble much. It was work they wanted, and some of them blamed the union as well as the operators and "conditions" for their plight. "I wish they'd knock that $18.75 [the union's daily scale] in the head," one miner said, "and go back to the 1942 contract—$14.05. Then maybe we'd get some work."

"I'll tell you this," said another man. "They better do something or we'll go back to work any kind of way. I'd take $5 a day before I'd let my family starve."

"Well, I think it's time Pappy [John L. Lewis] did something for us," said an old miner, out of work since he was dropped for a disability five years ago.

"Still," Castle spoke up again, "I'm telling you now, if we let our union down we're through for good on this creek. . . . I hear maybe they'll do something by July."

"It ain't all the union," said another miner. "The union can't sell the coal. I don't mind paying my dues, even in the fix I'm in."

In the U. M. W.'s sub-district office in Pikeville, Carson Hibbits, the chief union official in the Big Sandy area, seems unconcerned about reports that the miners are ready to bolt the union and undercut the scale if that's the only way they can get work. Some operators in other eastern Kentucky fields have already moved to go non-union, canceling their contracts with the U. M. W., as have companies in Pennsylvania and Virginia; but Hibbits doesn't think this will spread. "Oh, I think the great majority of our people are loyal and will stick with the union," he said.

Some operators admit that wage-cutting would be no answer to the problem. Coal production in the Big Sandy field for the first quarter of this year fell 21 per cent below production in the same period last year, and operators and union officials alike point to slumping steel production as the major cause. Normally a big customer for the coking coal mined in this area, steel is operating at less than 70 per cent of capacity.

WILLIAM G. PEEPLES

[*William G. Peeples is on the staff of the Louisville* Times.]

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EDITORIALS

Solution in Asia . . *by the Editors*

AS this is written, events in Geneva are moving towards a cease-fire. The initiative has been taken by the war-weary French, backed by the British and the Commonwealth countries. Bao Dai has been persuaded, it appears, to withdraw his objection to the appearance at the council table of representatives of the Vietminh, a prerequisite to any agreement. The British, who for all their imperialist past—perhaps because of it—have a greater sense of the realities of Asian life than the Americans, cabled the prime ministers of Asian countries meeting at Colombo urging their aid in a settlement of the Indo-China war. Their recommendations, urging among other things an immediate cease-fire, have been forwarded to Geneva. Thus, we see the beginnings for the first time of a policy looking toward a realistic cooperative effort to pacify Asia.

The overwhelming diplomatic defeat suffered by the United States delegation is a victory for the American people. Thanks to the refusal of America's allies to go along with the Dulles threat of military intervention, the people of the United States and the world at large have been rescued, for the time being at least, from the dangers of a conflict certain to involve atomic weapons and indeed to invite a general atomic war.

The newest developments in the Indo-China situation present an extraordinary opportunity to end the seven-year conflict; to lessen the threat of a global atomic war; to bring the Peking government under the obligations of the United Nations, and to win back the waning friendship of the Asian people for the West.

Whether or not this is accomplished will depend upon the continued determination of America's allies to seek, in cooperation with Asian countries and the United States, pacification of the entire Asian situation.

The settlement of the Indo-China war involves France and the international community alike. The issues are both internal and international. A cease-fire is only the threshold to peace in Indo-China, and pacification of Indo-China is in turn only the threshold to a general settlement in Asia. It is with the broad as well as the specific problem in mind that the editors of *The Nation* propose the following program:

Once a cease-fire has been agreed to, the Indo-China issue should be tranferred to the jurisdiction of the United Nations on the score that (1) the U. N. charter commits its members to the principle that nations with dependent territories are responsible to the world community; (2) the possible enlargement of the war constitutes a threat to international peace and security; (3) the execution of any settlement that may be agreed upon must be supervised and such supervision could be carried out by representatives of the international community without loss of face to any of the parties directly involved.

The step beyond the cease-fire is a political settlement. As part of that settlement a call should be issued under the supervision of the United Nations for free elections and for creation of a constituent assembly based upon democratic popular representation, to draw up a constitution establishing a representative form of government.

To achieve this objective obviously involves compromise—by France, the Associated States of Indo-China, the Vietminh and Communist China, and eventually by the international community, including the United States.

What the French contribution should be is clear: an immediate announcement of independence for the whole of Indo-China, with an option for association with the French union left to the people. Once stabilization has been achieved and the new regime is functioning, France should sponsor Indo-China's admission to the United Nations. Here is France's only hope of regaining its lost prestige in the Asian world.

IN A broad sense the situation in Indo-China is not unlike that which existed in Indonesia, where the Nationalists fought the Dutch for four years before achieving the independence of their land, membership in the Dutch union, and a place in the United Nations.

It should be recalled that the United States played a leading part in the establishment of the Indonesian republic. It was the United States which, in 1949, took the initiative in calling for the withdrawal of Dutch forces, the holding of free elections, and the transfer of sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia. At the time the Indonesian Communists were one of the eight major parties which participated in the formation of the first

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government. They are still a legal party though the government is anti-Communist.

The establishment of an independent Indo-China in the shadow of Communist China, under a regime which by the nature of things must include Communists, involves grave risks. But when the risks are weighed against the gains, there can be no doubt which way the decision should go.

The contribution of the international community cannot be that of a mediator alone. A major concession is required. It is the accreditation of the government of Communist China to the United Nations. Obviously this admission cannot take place until China has agreed to a settlement both in Korea and in Indo-China. But if such pacification can be accomplished, the admission of Communist China to the U. N. is a comparatively small price to pay. The failure to accredit Communist China has given the Soviet Union its major propaganda weapon in Asia. The admission of Peking would remove that weapon and would subject China to the obligations which go along with U. N. membership.

The accreditation of Communist China can be accomplished as part of an over-all settlement with a minimum loss of face to the United States, if the United States is desirous of having this happen. The issue of the veto is neither justified nor need it arise. Mr. Dulles's predecessor, Dean Acheson, held at one point that the veto could not legally be exercised since the issue was not one of admission to membership but the substitution of one Chinese regime for another. Nor does Peking's admission to the U. N. necessarily involve recognition by the United States. Such diplomatic recognition could be withheld or granted, at the will of our government.

THE State Department can remain the prisoner of its own propaganda or it can, with the help of its allies, take a long step forward toward peace through its settlement of the Indo-Chinese war.

One thing is certain, there will be no settlement of the Indo-Chinese war without a settlement of the issue of the accreditation of China.

Unless we are of the opinion that co-existence is impossible with the existing Communist world, there is every reason why a negotiated settlement should be sought now. The gains from a settlement would be immediate and enormous. They include:

(1) An advance in the pacification of the area; removal of immediate danger of global war and the catastrophic use of the H-bomb.

(2) Restoration of the moral prestige of the United States and its allies among the peoples of Asia.

(3) Reduction of the dangers of any unilateral adventure by China through bringing it under the obligations imposed by the Charter of the United Nations.

(4) A settlement under U. N. auspices would restore

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the organization's prestige as guardian of world peace and as an instrument for the welfare of peoples everywhere.

(5) Funds saved by the avoidance of war, wisely invested in a struggle against poverty and disease, could turn the Asian masses from a dubious neutrality to an attitude of friendship.

A Republican Administration which carried out such a policy could boast that it had not only stopped one war, but avoided a second.

These days even small wars come high in blood and treasure. The Indo-Chinese war has been bleeding France for more than seven years. Seven billion dollars and 25,000 French lives—the casualties among colonial and native troops are unknown—have been the cost so far to France alone. If the Paris exchequer is empty, if the government is unstable, if there is social, political, and economic unrest in France, the reason lies largely in Indo-China.

But the cost is not France's alone. The American taxpayer has laid out two and one-half billion dollars to date to keep the French fighting. Today traditionally anti-imperialist America is underwriting 75 to 80 per cent of France's colonial struggle in Indo-China.

FROM the day of the war's outbreak France's forces have outnumbered those of the Vietminh. Currently the ratio may be as high as two to one. There is no doubt that, as a result of American help, the French armies are better equipped than Ho's—on the ground and in the air. Yet after seven years Dienbienphu stands as the symbol of France's military failure. The reason for the failure is simple: the forces of Ho Chi-minh are animated by a purpose—freedom—which provides more staying power than any purpose animating the ranks of the French-Vietnam armies. And Ho is fighting the type of guerilla war which can be won not by big guns but only by masses of men. To contain the guerillas of Malaya the British fielded ten men for every opponent. Ho today has perhaps 300,000 soldiers at his disposal. His combined forces are Communist-dominated, but even now they comprise many non-Communist elements united in their passion for independence, and by all accounts they have behind them a majority of the Indo-Chinese people.

Hanson Baldwin, the New York *Times* military correspondent, thinks that in order to intervene with substantial ground forces in Indo-China, the United States would have to increase its army by five to ten divisions and its military budget by five to ten billion dollars. And this is based on the implausible thesis that despite American intervention the war could be limited to Indo-Chinese territory.

The folly of American military intervention would only be heightened by the fact that the French, who had most at stake, never put more than a few score thousands of its own soldiers into the conflict at any one time. French law forbids the dispatch of drafted men to Indo-China; the only French soldiers fighting there today are volunteers or regular army men. But the United States, which has no Moroccan troops or Foreign Legion to draw upon, could not afford to be so considerate of its citizenry.

IT would be a fatal trap to accept the premise that the struggle in Indo-China is analogous to the struggle in Korea. Korea was a police action justified by overt aggression. Allied intervention followed armed intervention in South Korea by the Communist-dominated government of North Korea. Whether the division of Korea made sense or not, the Thirty-eighth Parallel had been accepted by both sides and had been recognized by treaty between the United States and Russia. It was an accepted boundary. When it was crossed by the North Korean army, the act was one of invasion, no matter what the political or social motives.

In contrast the war in Indo-China is a colonial war; it began that way and has remained so. A French colony before World War II, the area was occupied in 1940 by the Japanese. In 1945 Ho Chi-minh, backed by the overwhelming majority of his countrymen, set up the Republic of Vietnam and sought independence from France within the French union. The French at first recognized him, then withdrew recognition and took Bao Dai out of retirement and placed him at the head of a rival government. Then the colonial war began in earnest, with civil-war overtones. As late as 1950 the London *Times* wrote that American authorities on the spot regarded Ho "as the standard bearer of Vietnamese nationalism and as the effective ruler of a considerable portion of the territory."

The revolt in Indo-China was part of the world-wide revolutionary wave set in motion by World War II. So Indonesia won independence from the Dutch; so, in more peaceful fashion, did India and Burma wrest themselves away from British overlordship, and the Philippines, under terms of an earlier treaty, achieved freedom from the United States. Like Indo-China, these other new independent nations in Asia have enormous strategic value, both in terms of geography and resources. Their independence was a gain, not a loss, to the Western world. All are outside the Communist orbit. All are governed by democratic regimes.

But if Korea offers no parallels to Indo-China, it does offer some applicable lessons. In 1951 the Korean war could have been ended, the involvement of the Chinese prevented, basic acquiescence assured by all parties in the principles of the United Nations, and a long step taken towards pacifying the situation in Asia. But America would not have it that way. MacArthur marched to

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the Yalu and provoked the entry into the war of Chinese "volunteers." The United States refused to accept as authentic the Indian representations that China had accepted, through New Delhi, the principles established earlier by the U. N. as the sine qua non for a Korean settlement. Instead, under United States pressure, China was branded an aggressor by the U. N. As a result the war was prolonged for two heartbreaking years. To what purpose? In the end, when a cease-fire was finally obtained, it was on terms signally inferior to those possible in 1951.

The basic struggle in Southeast Asia is for political independence and social and economic advance. Anti-Western feeling is nurtured by the Asians' belief that the United States regards them as second-class races, that we are unwilling to help them in their struggle against want, and are concerned with them primarily because their areas are strategic. In more recent months this view has been stimulated by the fear lest the United States expose the Asian world to the dangers of an atomic war.

AMERICA'S allies, for the time being, at least, have prevented disaster by blocking Mr. Dulles's plan for united military action. The danger is by no means over. A cease-fire has not yet been arranged. Complex political problems remain to be resolved before a settlement can be negotiated.

American policy must be reformulated—and will play an important part in future negotiations despite Mr. Dulles's current diplomatic defeat. What the policy should be is a decision to be made by the American people and forced upon the Eisenhower Administration if need be. To make that decision, it is necessary that the people should know the alternative to a negotiated settlement—what would ensue if the Dulles policy of armed intervention were to be revived.

The salient facts are these:

(1) United States armed intervention in the Indo-Chinese war would immediately invite outright Chinese intervention in force. It would be folly to assume otherwise. If the United States, thousands of miles distant, considers Communist China a threat, then Peking would inevitably consider the presence of Western troops near its southern border an even greater threat. The lesson of the Yalu should not be lost on America.

(2) An engagement between the United States and China would mean an atomic war, for it is clear that without atomic weapons any struggle against China, considering its enormous population and the size of its terrain, would prove endless. But in China military and industrial targets for atomic bombs are limited. The bombs would therefore be used primarily against the Chinese people in an attempt to hasten victory by crushing morale.

Thus the United States could be pushed into the position of being the first to use atomic weapons against the Asian people. Military victory, assuming we could achieve it, would be cancelled out by the implacable hatred which would thus be aroused among the surviving people not only in China but in the contiguous areas.

(3) But there is an even greater danger. China has a mutual assistance treaty with Russia. There is every reason to suppose that the treaty would be invoked. And World War III would be upon us.

Nor is there any guarantee that such a war would be restricted to Asian territory. There is every likelihood that Russian intervention with atomic bombs would have as its principal target our installations not in Asia, but in the United States, in the hope of knocking out our industrial potential.

America's unique vulnerability to such attack, and to the possibility of its being carried out with dispatch and with certain havoc, was pointed out by Brigadier General Thomas R. Phillips, U. S. A., Retired, writing in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* on April 16 and 17, 1954. The new "super-colossal ten-megaton bomb," the writer says, "represents a much greater advantage to the Soviet Union than to the United States. If the Russians, who have only a few bombers capable of even one-way flights in reaching our larger eastern and central industrial areas, want to bomb St. Louis, Chicago, or Pittsburgh, complete destruction could be accomplished with only one mission . . . American harbors and many of the surrounding port cities could be put out of action completely with thermonuclear mines which could be planted covertly. Hydrogen weapons carried by guided missiles from submarines could reach inland cities such as Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, and in spite of inaccuracy, probably would hit the target."

In contrast to the numerous concentrated great American industrial targets, the Soviet Union, according to the General, has only three or four cities which would require a five-megaton bomb to put them out of commission, and only one area—"the Russian atomic-energy industrial complex near Lake Baikal in Siberia"—which would need a ten-megaton bomb. Under such conditions, how would America's numerical superiority in thermonuclear bombs profit this country?

General Phillips also points out that "the day of the suitcase atomic bomb" is now here. When one considers not alone the American mainland, but American bases spread over the world—many of them in areas populated by peoples who would be hostile to us—the "suitcase atomic bombs" become an endless nightmare.

THE American dilemma is described with remarkable precision by Walter Lippman. "The American position at Geneva is impossible as long as the leading Republican Senators have no terms of peace except unconditional surrender of the enemy, and no terms of entering

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the war, except as a collective action in which nobody is now willing to engage." The Dulles foreign policy is leading to the isolation not of Moscow, but of Washington. Only the adoption of a new and realistic policy can bridge the growing split between America and its allies —a policy which recognizes that without compromise there can be no statesmanship, and that the alternative to statesmanship is war.

DEFEAT AT GENEVA

Crisis in U.S. Leadership . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

United Nations

DIPLOMATS at the United Nations have only one subject of conversation these days—the crisis in American leadership. They are astounded to see how quickly the great power that so often succeeded in sweeping to its side a reluctant but obedient majority is losing direction of world affairs. Two articles published the same day (April 29) in the New York *Herald Tribune* are quoted and passionately discussed—Walter Lippmann's Weakness at Geneva and Walter Millis's The Problem Defined. After analyzing the basic failure of the Dulles policy and the certain consequences of that failure at Geneva, Mr. Lippmann remarked: "The Secretary of State is well advised, therefore, to consider leaving the conference and having the United States withdraw for the time being to the sidelines." In Geneva the United States delegation was reported stunned and unable to agree on what to do about Indo-China, reflecting the conflict of opinion in Washington. Walter Millis, the *Herald Tribune's* distinguished analyst of military affairs, referred to the "new look" in strategy "which one of its chief authors [Secretary of Defense Wilson] now hints may have to be torn up before it has really got going." The crisis is a total one, embracing both diplomatic and military policy.

In the diplomatic field it has been expressed in two important developments. France, which had not previously dared move in Indo-China on its own, suddenly asserted its entire freedom of action at Geneva by turning to Molotov for help in solving the problem the United States, with its strategy of threat and pressure, had signally failed to solve. Great Britain refused to back the use of American and Allied carrier-borne air power demanded by the French in a desperate effort to save Dienbienphu. The effect of these refusals on the part of France and Britain to continue to be enchained to "a policy of strength without strength" was to promote the tendency to rally around governments that would emancipate themselves from the zigzags and contradictions of Washington. In France the idea of a Mendès-France Cabinet was winning rapid support. Prime Minister Churchill, who had been roughly treated in the Commons during the debate on the H-bomb for his excessive dependence on Washington, was loudly cheered by the Laborites as well as by his own followers when he assured the House of Britain's allegiance to the old tradition that once an international conference had been called, the weapons of diplomacy and not carrier-borne air power should be employed.

THERE lies the most important aspect of the present crisis. Europe is still very dependent on the United States and the ties cannot be expected to loosen overnight, but the political and psychological impact of the latest events will not be slight. The European countries are discovering that they can solve their problems without the United States, and even if necessary against the United States, as France is doing now on Indo-China. From the moment this lesson is learned, nobody can predict the extent of its consequences. A France liberated from the nightmare of Indo-China and with its diplomatic initiative restored could shape its own future policy in relation to Germany; it might also decide that its natural interests were best protected by a return to the traditional policy of rapprochement with Russia. A Britain more independent of America could hope to regain the world support that resulted, for instance, from the famous May 17 speech of Sir Winston Churchill, when so many people in every country turned to London in the hope of an alternative to permanent tension and threatened "roll-back."

The crisis became particularly grave because the United States had put behind the policy of "no retreat" in Asia, as defined by Secretatry Dulles in his speech to the Overseas Press Club, all the high-level prestige it could muster. President Eisenhower, Vice-President Nixon, Admiral Radford, all indorsed Secretary Dulles in public statements. Western diplomats simply cannot understand this extraordinary promotion and publicity for a policy that revealed itself so soon as empty of substantial content and finally led to the amazing reversal voiced by President Eisenhower in his press conference on April 29, when he advocated, suddenly, a "modus vivendi" with communism. The American position was not improved by the fact that the President's retreat occurred when the stage at Geneva was already set for early talks between France and the Vietminh leaders.

Immense damage was done in the diplomatic field by what Mr. Lippmann describes as "the painful and dangerous position of refusing to come to the aid of a hard-pressed ally, and of having made, therefore, a gigantic bluff which has been called"; in the military field it was almost as great. A profound miscalculation has been made by the planners of American strategy not only in

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regard to the "new look," as Mr. Millis pointed out, but in regard to the precise problem of Indo-China. Washington adopted as its guiding strategy the Navarre plan, which had been criticized by many French military experts as unrealistic and which led to the Dienbienphu disaster. Having embraced this plan, Washington opposed peace negotiations.

What next? the diplomats at the United Nations are asking. Is Mr. Dulles hoping to compensate for his defeat at Geneva by mobilizing the rest of non-Communist Asia to try by other means to enforce a policy based on the permanent non-recognition of Peking? If so, the Colombo conference, which has received no less attention here than the conference at Geneva, does not offer him much encouragement. The slogan of Chou En-lai and Molotov—"Let the peoples of Asia settle their own affairs"—was echoed at Colombo. There, in spite of differences between India and Pakistan, the attitude toward a crusade against Communist China was one of solid opposition. Not a belligerent Asian anti-Communist bloc in the sense desired by Mr. Dulles but rather a neutralist Asian bloc was generated at Colombo.

MEET CHOU EN-LAI

Red China's Spokesman . . *by Mark Gayn*

OF ALL the statesmen who have descended on Geneva none is more remarkable than Chou En-lai. One reason, of course, is that he speaks for a new great military power in Asia. But even in his own right Chou is much of a man. He is a figure that belongs peculiarly to this age of turmoil and anxiety—bizarre, brilliant, and immensely resourceful. If the two main topics of discussion in Geneva are war and revolution, Chou can discourse on both with knowledge unmatched by either his opponents or his allies. He is more dynamic than Molotov, and he is able to speak for his government with greater authority than, say, Bidault or Dulles.

Along with Molotov, Chou is a maker of history, in the sense that his name is likely to be remembered fifty years hence. What is more, he is filled with faith in the destiny of Chinese communism and in his own part in it. He pays tribute to the Bolshevik revolution, but he believes that his own was the greatest ever. "Remember," he says, "that *our* revolutionary struggle lasted for more than twenty years, and that in all this time we've had no outside aid—not even from the Soviet Union."

My several talks with Chou fill a notebook. But all my impressions of him are colored by one of the most extraordinary interviews I have ever had. It took place in Yenan just seven years ago. The interview began at two in the afternoon, and ran steadily until nightfall. After dinner Chou announced that there was a dance at the Yang Family Hill village and that he wanted me to come along. We got into a truck and drove into the darkness over a dry river bed. Only the two bodyguards, garlanded with ammunition and hand grenades, served as a reminder that the Nationalist troops were but thirty miles away. The dance over, we drove back to Chou's mud-brick house to resume the interview, which did not end until well into the next morning.

Four weeks later the Nationalists did come, and Chou and the other Red leaders fled north on horseback. Yet while he was in Yenan, I never detected any alarm, and now, on rereading my notes, I am amazed by Chou's confidence in the imminence of victory. With characteristic passion he attacked American aid to Chiang Kai-shek, Nationalist "treachery," General Marshall's mission, and the venture hopefully labeled MAGIC (United States Military Advisory Group in China). But there was no trace of discouragement in what he had to say.

"Nothing in the world—not even American aid—can arrest the gangrene eating into the Chiang Kai-shek regime," he said. "MAGIC can observe and correct the defects of Chiang's troops; it can see what equipment they need. But it cannot assure Chiang's victory, for Chiang must still depend on his officers and men, and their morale is low, the battle area is vast and there aren't enough troops to cover it, and it's now difficult to conscript more able-bodied men into the army." Like Mao Tse-tung, Chou had considered all the possibilities for intervention open to the United States and discounted all of them. "You must remember Chairman Mao's speech after V-J Day in which he said, 'We don't have to fear the A-bomb. . . . We are too backward to be defeated by it.'"

As for the Reds themselves, Chou insisted their roots were deep in the soil of popular need and mood. "What we have is peasant war on a mobile basis. . . . We have combined dialectic materialism with the peasant approach. Our men are not even proletarians. Think of what this means in Asia!"

Chou's current speeches show that his basic view of the world has not changed much since that interview. A few weeks earlier the party had formulated its thesis on world affairs, and Chou now elaborated it for me. Under the slogan of "war on communism," he said, the United States was seeking to dominate the world, and control not only such countries as Japan, Korea, and the Philippines but also its allies, Britain and France, along with their colonies. "Such a policy can only lead to political bankruptcy or be changed under the pressure of the American people. It must also inevitably arouse opposition in the capitalist nations. . . . The result must be American isolation."

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As for United States domestic policy, Chou argued, "the program of military expansionism cannot bring about normal economic prosperity. It can only lead to a shrinking of normal markets and hasten an economic crisis."

All these views are even more pertinent today than they were at the time. Both in Peking and in Geneva the Chinese Reds insist they are too strong —or too primitive—to fear A-warfare. The Vietminh, they argue, cannot be crushed, and for precisely the same reasons that enabled themselves to survive all their trials. The program for China which Chou expounded to me in Yenan has now become the blueprint for solution in Indo-China—land reform, the end of all "imperialist" influence, and perhaps a coalition government. And the weaknesses Chou thought he saw in the American position in 1947 are those which he and Molotov are seeking to exploit now, in an effort to drive a wedge between the United States and its European allies.

SO MUCH for the prophetic insights. No less significant are the flaws. Chou, I found, was spectacularly misinformed about the United States. He was quick to generalize on the basis of dubious items he picked up in the "mosquito" sheets in Shanghai and Nanking. At other times his data on distress and low morale in America seemed to have come out of monitored Tass broadcasts and bore little resemblance to reality. Like Mao, Chou received daily radio reports on the New York stockmarket, and he studied them with the anxiety of a speculator trying to anticipate the trend. From 1946 on the Communist leaders momentarily expected a major American depression that would begin with a Wall Street débâcle. Such a crisis, they thought, would arouse the "progressive" segments of American society to political action. That, in Chou's mind, meant a sharp turn to the left in the United States foreign policy. When I argued that no depression was likely as long as the post-war hunger for goods was not met, or that a depression was more likely to produce a turn to the right than to the left, Chou told me I was wrong.

Both his elements of strength and his weaknesses make Chou a dangerous opponent in Geneva. He cannot be intimidated, not only because he sees China as a world power but also because he is convinced the capitalist West is doomed. If he is ready to make compromises, it will only be because Peking and Moscow want time, and Chou will expect major concessions in return. As a negotiator, Chou is as tenacious as Molotov and far more supple and quick-witted. He is witty enough to have charmed even some of the "hundred colonels" who manned General Marshall's mission in China, and there is probably no foreign minister who looks better on the dance floor.

Chou En-lai

What makes Chou such a rare diplomatic specimen is that he is a product of thirty-five years of blood, conspiracy, revolution, and war. Now fifty-six years old, he was first caught in the revolutionary tide in 1919, while still a student in Tientsin. The fling cost him a year in prison, and once he was freed, his wealthy Mandarin family shipped him off to France, away from mischief. But instead of studying, Chou helped to form the Chinese Socialist Youth League, which soon became the European wing of the new-born Chinese Communist Party.

In 1924 the party ordered Chou to come home, and when the great Northern Expedition was launched two years later, he was named Chiang Kai-shek's political commissar. When Chiang broke with his Red allies, Chou barely escaped with his life. In the next seven years he led a life out of a twenty-five-cent thriller. He tried to start an uprising in an up-river port. It failed bloodily. Chou again escaped, and slipped out to Moscow to attend a party congress. In 1929 he was back in Shanghai as coordinator of all Red military groups in China. He stayed in the underground for a year, until Chiang's agents began to close in. Masquerading as a prosperous merchant, he fled again, this time to the newly created Soviet in Central China.

It is this period that Chou does not like to discuss. Up to about 1930 Chou and Li Li-san were the Moscow-anointed party leaders in China, while Mao, held in disfavor, was building up his peasant army. Though only 2,000 of the party's 120,000 members were urban workers, Moscow—through Chou and Li—insisted on an orthodox urban revolution. When this policy failed disastrously, Moscow accused Li of "adventurism" and fired him. By a display of political elasticity Chou survived, and joined Mao. In his talks with me Chou spoke with contempt of Li's "urban adventurism" and with admiration of Mao's rescue of the party by taking it to the villages. By 1934 Chou was political commissar of the main Red column on the "Long March," and by 1936, after a stormy Central Committee meeting, it was he who was delegated to save the life of Chiang Kai-shek, kidnapped by his own subordinates.

When the war with Japan broke out in 1937, Chou became "ambassador" to Chiang. Once Japan was defeated, Chou joined General Marshall on the three-man "cease-fire" mission. He was named Premier and Foreign Minister in 1949, and has since visited Moscow three times.

Recognized or not, Chou's China is now a great power, and it is represented in Geneva by a man who can speak with authority and make commitments. If he is depicted as an interloper, he also comes as a merchant in goods some of which may look very attractive to Paris and London. Some of these wares might indeed be so tempting that their acceptance or rejection would provoke a major political crisis in France, affect the European Defense Community, and influence events in both Asia and Europe. All these dangers appear to have been better understood in London and Paris than in Washington. Mr. Dulles and his team will clearly need all their skill to cope with Chou, and they can commit no greater error than to underestimate his effectiveness, or to regard him as Moscow's satellite. In Chou they face a magnificent operator, playing from strength.

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Vietnam: Two Eyewitness Reports

NIGHT CLUBS AND WAR

[The following articles were written respectively from the southern and northern capitals of French-held Vietnam. The author of the first, who has asked that his name be withheld, is a business man who is traveling through Southeast Asia. Ernest L. Zaugg, who wrote the Hanoi dispatch, has been covering the Indo-Chinese war for the last five months for Worldwide Press Service, a New York feature syndicate.]

1. In Saigon They All Want Out

by an Observer

Saigon

I HAVE spent some time here at Saigon, capital of South Vietnam, and in the surrounding area. On the surface Saigon scarcely looks like the nerve center of France's eight-year war effort in Indo-China. With its tree-lined boulevards, its cathedral, its vast cream-colored administration buildings, its sidewalk cafes, patisseries, and shops offering all French products, it is an attractive bit of France transplanted into a tropical and Eastern setting. Between noon and three o'clock the inhabitants still take their siestas. The night clubs provide excellent music, and silk-trousered Vietnamese dance partners cost but two U. S. dollars an hour.

But a disquieting note is struck by the many soldiers you see on leave or on guard duty in front of the more important public buildings and by the checking of your pockets for arms before you enter a place of amusement. After dusk no one is allowed to leave the city and daylight trips are at the mercy of the latest rumors regarding security conditions on the roads leading out of Saigon.

The world-resounding battles are fought in the north, but in Cochin-China's flat plains it has been necessary to cut down trees and bushes for 300 yards on each side of the roads to prevent ambushes. This is also about the width of the zone in which a white man may wander without danger to his life. Ranges of barbed wire along the road serve in daytime for laundry drying, and every few miles and at all bridges rise wooden watch towers. At night the Vietminh creeps in a little nearer, and the soldiers in the towers stare into the dark, wondering whether the "Viets" will be contented with collecting tribute from the villagers, who have already paid toll to their daytime "protectors." The towers may fly the flag of any one of five armies—the French, the Vietnamese regulars, the religious-political Caodaists (adherents of a confused synthesis of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Catholicism), the Hoa Hao sects, and the Binh Xuyen pirates.

Though the French still work in all government departments and have their own police force, more and more responsibility is being assumed by the Vietnamese. At first it looks like a change for the worse. "Enrich yourself" is the motto of officials high and low, and they earn thereby the contempt of both the Vietnamese, who have no respect for the Bao Dai regime, and the French, who regard it as welcome confirmation of the people's inability to govern themselves. A different result could hardly have been expected from the French policy of training only a thin native élite interested in the spoils of the colonial system and often so thoroughly assimilated that they can no longer write a letter in Vietnamese.

In the good old times the European could yell at the yellow man who exasperated or failed to understand him, but nowadays the French complain that the "coolie" talks back or just walks away. National pride has inspirited the most humble *cyclo-pousse* (push-bicycle) drivers. The French also resent the influx of Americans, and what they say about the United States would make the most rabid Communist sound sympathetic by comparison. Uncle Sam is portrayed either as a naive Johnny-come-lately in the Indo-China conflict or as a Wall Street Macchiavelli in search of new economic spheres of influence at the cost of non-American lives.

The Vietnamese are unanimous in wanting complete independence from France. Even the French-picked governments of the Bao Dai regime have been forced to demand nothing less, though they might consent to a Commonwealth-type tie with France and privileges for French investments and trade. The present negotiations between the French and the Vietnamese at Paris are scoffed at. It is commonly believed that every concession to Bao Dai has been wrested from the French by Ho Chi-minh. A Vietnamese whose family had suffered terribly at the hands of Communist extremists in 1945 said to me, "We shall always regard Ho Chi-minh as our national hero and the resistance movement as the necessary lever for our independence."

HO CHI-MINH'S great personal prestige is due to his life-long devotion to the cause of Vietnam's independence. Though he is admittedly a Communist, the label of "agent" just does not stick on him. Having long been treated as incapable of accomplishing anything, the Vietnamese also take pride in the efficient organization, under the most trying circumstances, of the Vietminh army, which now dares to face French élite troops in open battle. And the disregard for death displayed by the attackers of

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Dienbienphu is gloried in as contradicting the colonialists' loose talk about the natives' cowardice. At the same time the people do not forget the terror carried out by Communist extremists in the early years of the war.

One rarely hears a good word about the Bao Dai regime. Its shocking corruption is contrasted with the Vietminh leaders' integrity and hard life. Its arbitrary arrests and police-state methods, its censored press, its few government-sponsored labor unions, and its half-hearted land reform hardly provide an attractive alternative to Vietminh. Americans profess the hope that the government can be made more popular. It is true that in a few areas local officials, sometimes drawing on United States aid funds—economic aid represents 2.5 per cent of our total expenditure for Indo-China—have succeeded in creating grass-roots loyalties by setting up a hospital or a market hall or improving irrigation facilities. But the war effort absorbs 70 per cent of the Vietnamese budget, and badly needed but costly welfare projects cannot be carried out. Moreover, most of the country's few technical experts are either with the Vietminh forces or refuse to cooperate as long as the French army controls the country.

Conversations with professional and business men, intellectuals, and literate farmers made it very clear to me that the people are sick of the war. They all want a cease-fire, but dare not hope that the Geneva conference will bring it about. They feel victimized by the big powers, which they accuse of wanting to continue the war for their own purposes. This feeling at present runs most strongly against the United States, which is suspected of being opposed to a cease-fire on account of its illusory evaluation of the Vietnamese domestic situation and the requirements of its grand strategy against communism. The progressive transformation of this war for national independence into a civil and an international war is emotionally unacceptable to these people, who all have at least one member of the family or some close friend "on the other side." Even confirmed anti-Communists do not speak of Vietminh with bitterness. Often one finds a certain sympathy for what is called the *maquis* in analogy to the French Resistance during World War II. Many intellectuals feel they should be with it and have a sort of guilty conscience about their reservations regarding the Vietminh.

Observers who expect to find a population as determined to fight to the victorious end as that of Syngman Rhee's Korea are surprised by the all-pervading desire for a negotiated settlement. If this desire has not yet found expression in the organization of a political party, it is probably because for years advocates of negotiation have been liquidated or sent to jail as Vietminh sympathizers. But of late there seems to have been a slight relaxation. Books from France pinning the responsibility for the conflict on the French government are sold everywhere. Newspapers hint vaguely that the Vietnamese cannot go on killing each other. Individuals proscribed for years for demanding a cease-fire have been invited to take posts in the government. Apparently some forces in the present government of Buu Loc want to keep channels open for eventual negotiation with the Vietminh.

This very fact has stirred pro-war groups to increased activity—the Caodaists, the Hoa Hao, the Binh Xuyen, the tough men who control the gambling joints and docks of Saigon, a Catholic group under Monsignor Le Huu-Ju—though other Catholics are on the Vietminh side—and the Vietnamese army leaders. These groups have the power to back up their views and will affect the ultimate attitude of the Vietnam government toward a cease-fire.

The feeling of impotence before the will of the big powers is so overwhelming that little thought is given to the concrete details of a cease-fire. One high government official has stated: "Once the French leave, we Vietnamese will be able to arrange matters among ourselves. If the Communist leaders want to continue the fight after we have independence their troops won't follow them." But many fear that if the French withdraw before a cease-fire has been guaranteed by the big powers, Ho Chi-minh's indoctrinated troops will sweep away the Bao Dai regime. They also have little doubt that if a coalition government is set up immediately after a cease-fire, the Communists will take over.

Everyone is convinced of the extreme trickiness of any cease-fire arrangement. The delimitation of the zones to be controlled by the two sides will take months of bargaining, and more patience and ingenuity will be required than in the truce negotiations at Panmunjom. Now that it is known that important segments of French opinion want a settlement, the great dread is that the United States will seek to obstruct it, ignoring the will of the people primarily concerned.

2. The Vietman Army at the Front

by Ernest L. Zaugg

Hanoi

SOON the convoy started. We went about five miles and came to the end of the usable stretch of road. It was pitch-dark by now. Everyone piled out of the trucks. I looked around in vain for a friendly gesture from these milling Vietnamese soldiers.

Soon I noticed by the lights of the trucks that there were not only soldiers with us but also a number of women and civilian men and boys. The women carried big baskets swinging on the ends of bamboo poles in which were live chickens cackling or cooking utensils or rice. Live pigs squawking blue murder hung head down from poles carried by coolies and soldiers. For a big pig there were two men to a pole with the pig in the middle. If the pigs were small, there was one on each end of the pole, with the man in the middle. A boy held a walkie-talkie radio. There were coolies with machine-guns, mortars, and ammunition. The soldiers not only helped with the gear but carried their personal weapons and wore belts bristling with hand grenades.

Flares went off, lighting up the paddy fields for several hundred yards on each side of the road to guard against ambush. Some of the flares were attached to small parachutes. In the light I could see the marching army better. It was an

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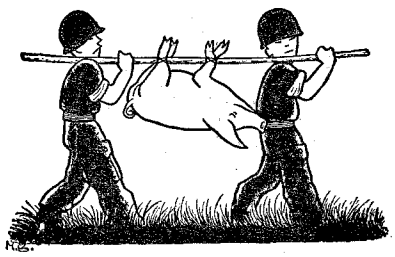
Asian horde armed with weapons made in Europe and America. With their friendly, cheerful faces, the men looked like boys out on a hike, but as I walked with them through the night I thought of them as part of that huge sea of humanity stretching northward through China and Russia. For the present they were moving with us, however unenthusiastically, but they could be turned in the other direction by the pull of their fellows to the north.

The column stopped. There were flares and fires ahead, and we could make out the trucks and cannon of the artillery unit which we had come up to support. Our men fanned out, posts were set up to guard against enemy attack and soon bonfires were blazing and the men drifted about collecting straw for their beds.

I went over to the artillery group and found myself in quite different company. I had supper with the Vietnamese and French officers of the group. They had a dozen 105-mm. cannon. For every job there were two officers, one French and one Vietnamese. The Vietnamese were learning from the French the use of these modern instruments of war. They had been working together for six months and were about to part company. The French were going home and the Vietnamese would run the show by themselves. It would be the first all-Vietnamese artillery group in Indo-



China. Needless to say the French were happy. Their term of duty in Indo-China is twenty-seven months.

I was particularly impressed by a Vietnamese officer named Major Trang. He was only twenty-six years old, an intelligent, cultured young man who spoke six languages, including Chinese, Russian, and English. He was a veteran of ten years of soldiering, having begun to learn his trade under the Japanese and continued it in the French army. He was the first Vietnamese soldier I had met who seemed to love his profession and think it had some meaning and future for him. He talked frankly and on an equal footing with the French officers. Once they all got into a discussion about the personalities and careers of the officers around Napoleon.

For Major Trang as for many Vietnamese officers the relations of their country with France did not offer a prospect of untroubled harmony. The French have not been here as masters for even a century and are now definitely on the way out. How much political, economic, and cultural cooperation there will be in the future remains a question. The chief problem, in the view of these young officers, is to balance their country between the various forces which threaten it, to win as much independence as possible for Vietnam and as much advantage as possible from its relations with foreign countries. They must fight Ho Chi-minh in order to keep free of totalitarianism and avoid domination by the eternal specter, China. At the same time they fear a revival of French colonialism. While fighting the Reds and struggling to gain greater independence from France, they face the danger of becoming economically and militarily dependent on America. Some increase in American influence would be desirable as a counter-weight to the French, but they do not wish to become a ward of the United States financially and a mere supporting force of American armies fighting here.

Major Trang realizes that several changes in overlordship are possible in the next decade. Vietnam is just the tiny little tail on the huge mammoth of Eurasia. If Eurasia, or rather China and Russia, gave the tail a little twitch, whatever anti-Communist flies might be sitting on it would be thrown off. Indo-China—and for that matter all Southeast Asia—is not only within reach of the strategic air power of China and Russia but open to the in-pouring of mass armies from China. It would be difficult for the Western powers to overcome such armies, especially if they were busy elsewhere in the cataclysm of another world war.

The young Vietnamese officers are not uncritical of themselves, nor do the French officers hold their punches when speaking of the new Vietnamese national army. The first thing the matter with it is its lack of officers. There are not many like Major Trang. For every born soldier you will find a hundred smart little bespectacled intellectuals, speaking French and steeped in the skeptical rationalism which here as in France has been so overemphasized that it seems to cause a fatal paralysis of the will. This French-educated élite has been alienated from the peasantry, which forms 90 per cent of the population and is steeped in the more pragmatic Oriental philosophy of Confucius and Buddha. The same weakness is not apparent on the enemy side. Ho Chi-minh's officers are close to the masses and have shown themselves expert in the organization of village military and political life.

HO CHI-MINH has two levers with which to work on the morale of the Vietnamese soldier. First he tells him he is fighting a colonial war for the French against his own people. The Vietnamese have been promised their independence and are now working out the details in negotiations with the French, but for the duration of the war complete independence is not possible in Vietnam for the simple reason that the French command must be able to give orders to anyone in order to fight the war. It is a complicated political and military situation which the average Vietnamese soldier cannot always think through. In consequence he is inclined to fall for the Red line that he is just a French stooge.

The second lever is the hunger for land. Ho Chi-minh offers to divide the land among the poor and landless peasants. This is good propaganda in Cochin-China to the south, where there are large holdings owned by absentee landlords, but it would not seem an effective argument in the Red River delta, where the average holding is three hectares or less. However, here too Ho has found it profitable to divide the land, often into portions as small as one-third of a hectare.

The twin goals are land reform and national independence. I discussed these problems until late in the night with my friends among the Vietnamese officers. They spoke with great earnestness, for these goals are bound up with the fighting as the human spirit is bound up with the body. Even while we talked, some of the officers had to go out occasionally to supervise the cannon fire against a distant village.

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LABOR VIEWS

The 1954 Elections . . . *by Jacob S. Potofsky*

THE 1954 elections are now little more than six months away. The Republican Party, for twenty years an outsider looking in, has governed the nation for fifteen months and in November will seek a renewal of its mandate. It is the consensus of American labor, which looks beyond the platitudes and examines the facts, that the record made by the Republican Administration has been unimpressive.

In the crucial realm of foreign policy American prestige among the free nations has steadily declined since the new Administration came to power. Those who looked to the United States as the citadel of freedom cannot comprehend the role played by Senator McCarthy. And those who saw the United States as the principal restraint on the aggressive designs of the Soviet Union are deeply troubled by the casual fashion in which America's current policy-makers refer to the possibilities of "massive retaliation" with the latest atomic weapons. Meanwhile, on the domestic scene, the rising tide of assaults upon our basic freedoms has been accompanied by a rising tide of unemployment approaching the four million mark.

To meet these problems the Republican Administration has talked much and done little. Its record suggests a guiding philosophy that slogans are synonymous with achievement.

All too frequently the resounding policy statements made by top Administration officials are hopelessly in conflict. One day we are told that in order to prevent new Koreas the United States will make its intentions with respect to possible Communist aggression perfectly clear. But the next day a bolder spirit animates our leaders, and there is talk of "flexible" policies which will keep the Soviet Union guessing. Similarly, we are told in one breath to be ready to send troops to Indo-China, and in the next that no plans of this nature are under study.

Under any circumstances there can be no justification for this kind of governmental double-talk. Any attempt to disguise the truth confuses people and leaves them prey to nameless fears—fears which men like McCarthy know how to exploit. But the evils inherent in this callous trifling with public opinion are magnified a thousand times when the issues involved are those of war and peace—issues on which the survival of each one of us may depend. All great issues, but particularly these, require the utmost clarity and maturity of thinking.

To make the American system work, candid and informed discussion of public issues is an obligation which our leaders cannot evade. The dangers of any course are clearly indicated by President Eisenhower's own recent reminder:

> . . . catchwords are not information. And, most certainly, sound popular judgments cannot be based upon them.
>
> On the steady, day-by-day dissemination of complete information depends our people's intelligent participation in their own government. . . . The decisions they must make are crucial in character and world-wide in scope. . . . They need full and accurate information. . . . On every question where they have it, their decisions will be sound.

Judged by this standard, the Republican Administration has been derelict.

MOST instructive is the Administration's handling of certain questions of labor legislation vital to the working men and women of this country. General Eisenhower, when campaigning for the Presidency, said of the Taft-Hartley Act, "I know the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union-busting. Neither do I." To implement the President's commitments with respect to Taft-Hartley, former Secretary of Labor Durkin last summer prepared and apparently cleared with the White House a number of proposed amendments. But then fate, in the person of the Secretary of Commerce, intervened. The proposed amendments were repudiated.

Shortly thereafter James Mitchell became Secretary of Labor. He told the C. I. O. convention that the Administration would "concentrate on those features of the act which are really dangerous to labor, really loaded, really unfair. I am for the removal of those

unfair features. The President is for their removal." Nevertheless, the proposals actually transmitted by the President to Congress last January would not alleviate any of the really iniquitous provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. Moreover, the additional amendments offered by Republican leaders in the House of Representatives would, if finally adopted, make the act far more onerous and objectionable than before.

A strikingly similar record of generous words and failure to follow through has been made on the minimum-wage question. Secretary Mitchell's maiden speech to the C. I. O. was forthright with respect to the need for increasing the benefits provided by the minimum-wage law:

> One of the first things to which I want to devote myself with your help and the help of other unions and of employers is repairing and raising the floor which we want under our national wage structure. I consider our minimum-wage statute can

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be a great bulwark against substandards of living. *It is badly in need of shoring up. . . .*

We are examining the categories of exemption and exclusion and are exploring the possibility of bringing in additional workers under the coverage of the act. . . .

We are working hard to find ways and means to bring about an increase in the present 75-cents-an-hour minimum to a more realistic level in keeping with the present-day wage levels. [Italics mine.]

But the President's Economic Report, transmitted to Congress in January of this year, failed to propose this "badly" needed "shoring up."

If one considers other issues, the Administration's pattern of confusion and contradiction is found to repeat itself many times. Take, for example, the question of immigration policy. On October 17, 1952, when campaigning for the Presidency, General Eisenhower stated that "we should have, and we must get, a better law than this McCarran Act." The Republican candidate was echoing the view expressed by President Truman, in his unsuccessful veto message, that adoption of this racist and arbitrary law "would perpetuate injustices of long standing against many other nations of the world, hamper the efforts we are making to rally the men of the East and West alike to the cause of freedom, and intensify the repressive and inhumane aspects of our immigration procedures." Apparently General Eisenhower's concurrence made amendment of the McCarran Act a bi-partisan cause. But neither last year nor this has the Administration taken any effective step to change the offending legislation.

Nor is the record different on the whole question of McCarthyism. Shortly after he took office the President eloquently and courageously denounced book-burning. This year the President in clear-cut fashion had occasion to restate the traditional American right to face one's accusers. Yet neither this traditional right nor the urgent demands of our defense effort were enough to protect loyal Americans at Fort Monmouth whom McCarthy saw fit to victimize.

Confronted with the gravest of threats abroad, America must stand united in its dedication to the principles of freedom. But the party in power, through the Republican National Committee, has helped to divide this fear-ridden land against itself by sponsoring McCarthy's despicable lecture series charging the Democratic Party with "Twenty Years of Treason." Added to this are two instances in which the Administration has sought to go McCarthy one better. First there was the Attorney General's base personal attack on former President Truman. Next came the iniquitous "numbers game" in which top Republicans repeatedly made statements, the falseness of which they had reason to know, designed to impugn the integrity of the Democratic Party and to blacken the honor and loyalty of defenseless government workers.

Many of the present difficulties arise from the fears sowed by McCarthyism. But the present Administration, in large measure, is responsible for elevating McCarthy to his present status.

THE over-all record of the Eisenhower Administration reflects two attitudes which must be of profound concern to every American voter. It reflects the social philosophy which has characterized the Republican Party for a generation—a social philosophy which assumes that government cannot and should not do much about the welfare of the American people or the preservation of their traditional rights. This is the kind of government which contributes to dangerous problems like McCarthyism and unemployment. In the face of the current economic down-turn the present Administration has issued a series of communiqués reminiscent of the statement of an earlier day that "prosperity is just around the corner." It is callous and short-sighted to ignore the plight of nearly 4,000,000 unemployed until their ranks are measurably increased. But if the current unemployment should prove less serious than it currently appears, it will not be because of cheerful utterances from the White House. It will be because in twenty years of Democratic rule certain vital stabilizers, such as social security and unemployment compensation, were built into the American economy.

Far more alarming is the second, but related, attitude—the basic contempt for democracy implicit in the contradiction between the Administration's word and deed. The fundamental premise of any such method of government is that the people cannot be trusted with important information and should not be called upon to make decisions. The Republican Party apparently feels that the problems of life and death, which are the hourly concern of modern government, can only be dealt with by a select and secret few. But the issues are too great. Questions of war and peace, of control of the great bomb, of the future of the United Nations, and of the survival of our cherished freedoms cannot be decided by a few men. Every element of a democratic community must share in the shaping of policy. These great issues are *public* business in a democracy. Any other view is a denial of all that this nation has stood for.

American workers await Election Day, 1954, with impatience. They will vote for candidates who will put us back on the road to candor and honorable dealing in the affairs of government. They will vote for candidates pledged to action responsive to the needs of the masses of the American people. And they will vote for those who believe in an economy of abundance, government-labor-management planning, increased minimum wages, improved unemployment compensation, more low-cost public housing, tax relief for those in the lower brackets, broader social security, a credit policy to protect small businesses, and a farm program that meets the needs of family farmers.

They will support candidates who will speak out for civil liberties and civil rights, and against McCarthyism and McCarranism.

They will see to it that men like Douglas, Humphrey, Murray, Kefauver, and Barkley are returned to the Senate, and that more men and women of this kind work in the halls of Congress. Few would pretend that the votes of America's 16,000,000 trade-union members can be delivered. But labor, grown to dignity and strength, is becoming more alert to the dangers to the country flowing from the inexcusable failures and indefensible actions of the present Administration. Labor, therefore, will go to the polls with more determination and more vision and will give its votes to the candidates who earn them.

American labor will vote to restore American freedom and help put our great and beautiful land, and the people in it, on the road to prosperity and peace.

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Operation Backfire . . *by Edgar Kemler*

Washington

NO ONE can foresee, of course, just how or when the McCarthy-army hearings will end or what the final results will be. But one thing is clear: the hearings have backfired. Nearly everyone involved has suffered some damage, the temporary subcommittee perhaps even more than the parties themselves. According to the North American Newspaper Alliance, one of the investigating Senators has said: "We're proving nothing fast, and the mail indicates that the people are getting mad. So far they haven't decided whom to be mad at but I suspect it's going to be us—the committee."

There is a kind of rough justice in the way the hearings have backfired. Ray Jenkins, "the Tennessee terror," has done as fair a job as a McCarthy admirer could be expected to do. On occasion he has even managed to outshout McCarthy. When the army turned over its report to Senator Potter in March, something like a collective conscience seemed to emerge from the subcommittee. But with Jenkins as counsel, the subcommittee has been transformed into an extraordinarily legalistic fact-finding body. At one point last week Senator Symington said: "I'm not a lawyer now but I will be after this hearing is over." If Ray Jenkins, as rumored, intends to run against Senator Kefauver this fall, he should be told that Kefauver is not at all worried.

In his pre-hearing speech in Houston, McCarthy said that "devilishly clever" plans were afoot to sabotage his red-hunting efforts by changing the rules of the subcommittee. This may have been prophetic: Senator Jackson told me that the precedents now being set for the introduction of evidence will be hard to overturn in the future. But the facts being what they are, the more the subcommittee digs into them, the more it gets ensnarled by them.

Of the subcommittee members, Symington has lost ground as a Presidential candidate because of his equivocal stand on the issue of McCarthyism. Senator Mundt is in trouble in South Dakota. In Arkansas, Senator McClellan is running for reelection against former Governor Sid McMath, who is as anti-McCarthy as Senator Fulbright. Last week McClellan made a speech in Little Rock extolling the work of the subcommittee and declaring that he believes that McCarthy is quite "sincere." Apparently he has not been watching McCarthy on television. McMath has charged that McClellan joined forces with McCarthy in the attacks on Democrats and only became anti-McCarthy once Republicans were under fire. Arkansas is an anti-McCarthy state. Neither Dirksen, Potter, nor Jackson is up for reelection, but it is doubtful whether any of them have benefited from the hearings to date.

ON THE other hand, the hearings have backfired on the army, too. Secretary Stevens made a strategic error in not electing to stand more squarely on the rights of the Executive, blasting the McCarthy legend once and for all. This would have required great courage, for it would have meant taking a strong stand vis-à-vis the subcommittee. It would also have meant repudiating the Eisenhower fiat, issued early last year, directing executive agencies to cooperate with all Congressional investigating committees. But had he taken a stronger stand, Stevens could have afforded to admit error in having attempted to appease McCarthy. At times he has come very close to this position. But since he has never quite done so, and since he persists in his intention of cooperating with any and all Congressional committees, he has opened himself to McCarthy's counter-charges. Thus, the strange spectacle of Stevens defending himself against the charge of "courting favor with the subcommittee" and, alternatively, of attempting to impede the committee's work—one of McCarthy's more persistent charges. This contradiction is also embarrassing to the subcommittee. On Monday, Senator Symington told him, quite frankly, "I am not pleased with your answers to these questions." It is shocking to see such a patently honest and decent man as Stevens bleeding from so many wounds.

To date McCarthy has not suffered as much as Stevens although there have been moments when he was visibly distressed, as when it seemed that the transcript of one of the telephone conversations might be read. According to one rumor, his chief objection to the transcript is its vulgarity; portions of it concern how much Private Schine's girl friends needed him on week-ends. But despite these bad moments, McCarthy is still the Pope of Anti-Communism and can still bully Secretary Stevens. "Look, Bob, this is a serious charge." But when Hensel takes the stand, the army should make a better showing. Hensel is a tough fighter and can be relied upon to carry the war deep inside the McCarthy camp. And the army may have some "surprise" charges, too. Schine's father is said to have contributed $50,000 to Roy Cohn's law firm, and the subcommittee is supposed to be checking to see just how this fund was distributed.

But even in their present inconclusive form, and despite the fact that they have backfired on all the parties, the hearings have been salutary. For the first time, the country can see the inner workings of McCarthyism and get a close-up of McCarthy himself, unadorned.

Last week "Cassandra," the London *Daily Mirror's* correspondent, reported to his British readers: "I have been watching the greatest and most powerful nation on earth make an ass of itself—and a shameful ass at that." Most Americans would resent being described in this fashion in a foreign, particularly a British, paper but the army-McCarthy hearings undeniably provide an authentic picture of official Washington during the last six months or a year, and the sooner the country recognizes the accuracy of the picture the better.

EDGAR KEMLER contributes frequently to The Nation.

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BOOKS

End of the Road in Asia

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDO-CHINA. By Ellen J. Hammer. Published under the Auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations by Stanford University Press. $5.

By O. Edmund Clubb

AS THE Geneva conference opens, it is sobering to read this account by Dr. Ellen J. Hammer of the troubled state of French colonial power in Indo-China. The three-sided struggle for old interests and new powers now being carried on by France, the governments of the Associated States, and the revolutionary Vietminh is portrayed in all its frustrating complexity. Dr. Hammer has performed, with high competency, a most timely service.

"What's past is prologue." Dr. Hammer's history uncovers root causes of the present conflict. The twentieth century early brought fundamental changes to Asia generally, and the institution of colonialism was particularly affected. In Indo-China, thinking regarding the country's political future was notably advanced by World War II. Japanese domination of the area from 1940 on culminated in the deposition on March 9, 1945, of Admiral Decoux's colonial government. On March 10 the Japanese announced that "the colonial status of French Indo-China has ended." The monarchs of Annam, Cambodia, and Luang Prabang took this announcement at its face value. The tottering position of the white man in Asia had been further undermined.

The March, 1945, Free French program provided for a federal Indo-China within a French Union. But when the end of the war came, former bureaucratic and economic interests on the spot, shaping the policy of metropolitan France, sought to bring about a return to the status quo ante bellum. This policy was embodied in the illiberal and unperspicacious administration of the new High Commissioner, Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu. But when the French reached out to recover their lost authority, they met opposition. Vietnam nationalists had resolved long before that colonialism should not return.

Britain had responsibility for disarming Japanese troops south of the Sixteenth Parallel; north of that line the responsibility was China's. General Leclerc undertook to restore French control over the colony. The military action against the Vietnamese who had assumed control began in Cochin-China in September, 1945. There, the Vietnamese were subdued by force of arms. In northern Indo-China, Emperor Bao Dai abdicated on August 27; then, on September 3, 1945, Ho Chi-minh declared the independence of Vietnam. Next, by an agreement signed on March 6, 1946, at Hanoi with Ho Chi-minh and a representative of the Vietnam Nationalist Party, France recognized Vietnam as "a free state with its own government, parliament, army, and finances." The Vietnamese for their part agreed not to oppose the French army when it arrived to relieve the Chinese —but the last French troops were to leave by 1952.

There was failure, in the ensuing months, to further the adjustment of Indo-China's political organization to post-war realities. In December, 1946, growing out of incidents at Langson and Haiphong, war began between the French and Ho Chi-minh's government. Dr. Hammer assesses the responsibility:

> The Vietnamese chose the date on which it broke out, but the policy followed by members of the French administration in Saigon made the war almost inevitable. They had systematically obstructed the carrying out of the March 6 agreement. They had established a puppet regime in Cochin-China, wrecked the Fontainebleau conference, ordered the "pacification" of Haiphong; and the Vietnamese had had little reason to hope that their policy would change.

The French now faced two alternatives—to negotiate with Ho Chi-minh, to whom they had promised a referendum on the union of Tonkin, Annam, and Cochin-China; or to seek some other means for political stabilization, in the hope of retaining a larger measure of their existing holdings. In March, 1947, ex-Emperor Bao Dai was selected as instrument. Support from the colonial authority rejected by many Vietnamese, however, would act as his natural handicap. In any settlement with the French he could accept no less than the independence granted Ho Chi-minh in 1946; and in any negotiations with Ho, he could not compromise in areas of French special interest. For two years the French wooed Bao Dai. For two years Vietnam nationalism grew in strength.

Bao Dai became Vietnam Chief of State on June 14, 1949. But a new factor was now entering the equation: in neighboring China the Communist armies had crossed the Yangtze in their southward drive and would establish their new government in Peking on October 1. Communist Ho Chi-minh in January, 1950, recognized the Peking regime and received Chinese and Soviet recognition in return. This marked, in effect, the joining of Vietnam communism to international communism. The significance is seen in the increase of Chinese aid to the Vietminh after the Korean truce, with the net result that the French stand beleaguered at Dienbienphu and in the Red River delta. And as the Chinese aid continues, the mortgage of international communism on the Vietminh movement mounts—even as happened in North Korea.

IN HER concluding section, the author records that an American diplomat said, "with humor," "we are the last French colonialists in Indo-China." She remarks that "it would be unrealistic to attempt to impose any policy which ignored the Vietnamese point of view." But at this critical point, it seems to this reviewer, her mind momentarily boggles at what it contemplates. She notes the "enormous" American investment in the French venture, and says that "it is to be hoped that the keen interest of the United States in this region of the world will not permit any settlement of the Indo-Chinese war which does not agree with the basic imperatives of American policy in that area." And she quotes,

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O. EDMUND CLUBB, a retired American foreign-service officer, spent twenty years in various Far Eastern posts.

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with seeming approval, the American position as summed up by Vice-President Nixon: " 'Under no circumstances could negotiations take place that would place people who want independence under bondage. It is impossible to lay down arms until victory is completely won.' "

Effectiveness is the test of any policy. This reviewer believes, if only on that score, that the proposition in point demands the most careful scrutiny. The "new-look" doctrine, as given form between Dulles's speech of January 12 and Nixon's talk of April 16, clearly purports that the United States will oppose any compromise settlement of the Indo-China war and, if need be, intervene militarily to achieve a complete victory—even moving into the political place of the French if they withdraw. From Mendès-France in October, 1950, to Premier Laniel in October, 1953, French statesmen have shown themthemselves agreeable to a negotiated peace; India and Japan have already bowed away from the American project for "united action"; and it is hardly likely that the British Commonwealth, given especially the Indian position, will show itself more "colonial" in respect to Indo-China than the French. The problem is more than hypothetical.

War, to make sense, must have an intelligible political objective. It may be protested that the United States does not intend again to become a colonial power in Asia. The rulers of the Associated States nevertheless have in mind that the present Occidental military action is directed against their own race. Politically, it is hardly feasible for them to side with an Occidental power to wage an uncompromising war of destruction against Vietminh strength. The contrast between the measures outlined in the Franco-American communiqué of September 30, 1953, for pacification of Indo-China and Nixon's assertion that the Vietnamese lacked ability to conduct a war by themselves or to *govern* themselves points up the disposition to have Occidental power dominate the operations in Indo-China.

Taking Dulles's article on Policy of Peace and Security in the April *Foreign Affairs* as a guide, the proposed intervention would depend in main upon American air and naval power and atomic weapons—tactical and strategic. Ho Chiminh's support extends over broad areas of the nation of 24,000,000 Asians. Dulles's previous report that 3,000,000 North Koreans, of a total of 9,000,000, died in the course of the Korean war must be presumed indicative of what would happen in Indo-China if the American intervention did not bring the postulated quick victory. And the complexity of the Indo-China situation militates against any easy campaign.

The echoes of the 1945 A-bomb explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki will probably grow in Asia, not diminish, in the years ahead. The intensive use of napalm and atomic weapons against Vietnamese by the United States, acting outside U. N. authority, would almost certainly have grave repercussions for the American position throughout Asia. Several close parallels between the Indo-China situation and the post-war developments in China, where large segments of pro-American sentiment were alienated by American policies, manifest a clear warning. Does the proposed policy bid fair to save the situation—or would it instead foster in Indo-China the very disaster we would avoid? And what would be the probable political consequences in Japan and India of the mooted military action in Indo-China? The scorching of the earth of Indo-China so that no living thing remained would be no victory if the United States were to lose its influence in all Asia as a result.

DR. RUPERT EMERSON, in his introduction to this book, asks a vital question: ". . . the United States, as a champion of the right of peoples to self-determination, backs the claim of the Vietnamese to make their own free choice in the world; but if they should choose communism, as seems not unlikely, is it then also the American obligation to save them from themselves?" By the solution now proposed, it is. But the data adduced by Dr. Hammer indicate that many Asians today might well view the "new look" as being only the old colonialism in fancy dress. And colonialism has reached the end of the road in Asia. Unilateral Occidental action is no longer effective there.

The only viable procedure, arduous though it may often prove, for attacking contemporary international problems in Asia is to consult the will of Asian na-

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tions and act either in concert with the states concerned particularly with a regional problem or within the framework of the United Nations. Only by such procedure can the United States hope to help strengthen the foundations of democracy in the Associated States, which is our objective in Indo-China. Unilateral military intervention in disregard of Asian sentiment would fail to achieve that end. It could instead easily lead, in the manner foreseen by General Omar Bradley during consideration in May, 1951, of a strikingly similar plan for ending the war in Korea, to involvement of the United States in "the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy." And that, by definition, is not an effective policy.

New Books in Brief

War-Time Intermission

TOMBOLO. By Nicholas Fersen. Houghton Mifflin. $3.

Tombolo, according to the map in this novel, is a coastal forest of Tuscany, near Pisa. Uninhabited and shunned, it became the logical sanctuary for deserters from both the American and German armies. The novel sketches the rise and fall of this loose-knit community of Italian whores, American Negroes, and three former members of the *Wehrmacht,* ruled—in so far as it was ruled at all—by violence and geared to the surrounding economy by hijacking raids and black-market operations. The ground is laid for an interesting analogy with "respectable" society, but the author takes no advantage of it, except for the feeble attempts of the preacher, Emmanuel, to introduce an agricultural, subsistence economy.

"Tombolo" has no organic structure, no central viewpoint. Characters succeed one another as the eyes of the reader until, exactly halfway through the book, a pair of romantic lovers are arbitrarily introduced. From there on "Tombolo" becomes the story of Grazia, the Resistance heroine, and Jimmie Johnson, the G. I. truck-driver.

Several times "Tombolo" approaches the status of a good novel; it never quite attains it.

Still a Bum

MINUTES OF THE LAST MEETING. By Gene Fowler. Viking. $3.75.

Readers of Mr. Fowler's flamboyant biographies of such disorderly characters as John Barrymore and Mack Sennett will know what to expect of this one, in which the central character is a certain Sadakichi Hartmann who gave his talents to painting, poetry, and art criticism while reserving his genius for the art of life—meaning in this case chiefly the art of cadging food, shelter, alcohol, and the other necessities. During his last days W. C. Fields and John Barrymore were his preferred victims. Mr. Fowler insists that his talents were real and quotes various distinguished persons to back him up, but it is obviously his hero's raffishness which interests him most. Just how entertaining a reader is likely to find the book will depend on how nearly insatiable is his appetite for accounts of drinking bouts, practical jokes, and ingenious swindles. W. C. Fields closed all discussions of Hartmann's virtues with the remark, "I still say he is a bum." Maybe he was right.

Of Mice and Men

THE BEST OF TWO WORLDS. By Joseph Wood Krutch. Sloane. $3.

With his usual aptness of phrase Mr. Krutch has found a title for this collection of essays on animal life that conveys exactly their underlying theme. The native and permanent countryman is often entirely unaware of anything in the natural world around him that he does not have to work with. To the city-dweller, on the other hand, the Ode to a Skylark may be only a pretty sentiment if he has never seen and observed an actual skylark. The best of both worlds, maintains Mr. Krutch, belongs to the educated man trained to sensibility by enough reading and so able to appreciate the wonders that a patient observation of animal and vegetable life can reveal to him. Mr. Krutch tells of his adventures with cats, mice, frogs, and ducks. From them he has concluded that man's willingness to recognize his close kinship with animals may, in a mechanistic age, determine whether his future is to be totalitarian or free. By acknowledging that we are part of this nature we can choose a world, like that of the animals, that knows life and joy. The alternative is to consent to become standardized parts of a machine that can be regulated at the will of an operator. This is one of the deeper notes in a graceful and witty Postscript in which Mr. Krutch deplores the fact that nature writing has become a special and rather lowly department of literature because we have lost the sense that nature is the most significant background of human life.

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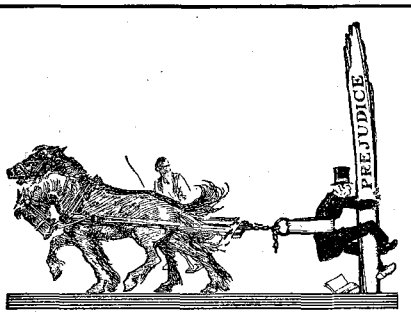

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Theater

Harold Clurman

AS NOTED here last week, I propose to write, among other things, a series of columns which may prove of some use to those interested in enriching the quality—at any rate, enlarging the repertoire—of the off-Broadway theater. The series will entail the review of neglected plays of merit which have either not been produced at all or so infrequently that they may be considered practically unknown. There are more worth-while plays on the library shelves than ever see the light of our stages.

A recent report on the success in Stockholm of O'Neill's "A Moon for the Misbegotten" brought to mind the whole range of O'Neill's work, which may still serve as a source for fascinating new productions by the more ambitious of our off-center theaters. While it is true that such revivals are precarious on Broadway, imaginative productions of the best of O'Neill would undoubtedly find appreciative audiences elsewhere.

"A Moon for the Misbegotten" has had a curious history. For a long time, it seems, O'Neill insisted that the play had to be staged by a director of Irish heritage. (The characters in the play live on a Connecticut farm and are what O'Neill calls New England Irish Catholic Puritans.) When such a director was found and the play presented by the Theater Guild in Detroit, it shocked and/or disappointed the audience there. Neither the Guild nor O'Neill was happy about the production. For one thing, the central role as described by O'Neill is "a girl of twenty-eight, five feet eleven in her stockings and weighs one hundred eighty," in other words, almost a freak. To find an experienced actress who answers to this description is very nearly an impossibility.

By the time the Guild began considering a new production—Elia Kazan was to direct it—O'Neill had fallen ill and did not want it done till he was well enough to attend rehearsals. Two years before his death O'Neill consented to the publication of the play. In a way this was unfortunate. O'Neill's plays should be seen on the stage before they are read. His dialogue often strikes one as characterless and flat on the printed page. The reviewers who took notice of the play's printed version were severe and discouraging. But Kazan's enthusiasm spurred me to read it.

A friend who saw the recent Stockholm production informs me that the actress who played the leading role—beautifully—was by no means the physical grotesque O'Neill describes. (Dramatists who insist that actors correspond exactly to their own personal vision of their characters frequently do their plays grave harm.) The girl in question does not have to be "misbegotten" to believe she is undesirable; she needs only think herself that way. The meaning of the play may be summed up if we think of its title as signifying solace for the injured.

Because of special circumstances which hinder a New York production of this play at present—in this respect it is an exception to the general line of plays I plan to discuss in this series—I do not intend to enter into a detailed consideration of it now. If O'Neill ever wrote any "perfect" plays, which is unlikely, "A Moon for the Misbegotten" is not one of them. But as I once pointed out, most "perfect" plays are paltry ones. O'Neill's value does not lie in his technical mastery—his career was a steady struggle with both his subject matter and his form—but in the greatness of his concern with a significant statement of vital motifs in American life. What is involved in the almost naive contrast of the business man with the artist in "The Great God Brown" is part of a fundamental American lesion—going farther even than that subject when so baldly put; the primitive symbols used in "The Hairy Ape" articulate the basic loneliness or alienation of the American "worker" extending beyond the bare situation of the play or the period before "class-consciousness" in which the play was written.

It is often a subject of supercilious comment that O'Neill leaned heavily on a Freudian interpretation of his characters. But the critics' fear of anything that may appear analogous to such an interpretation—provoked, to some extent, by the lamentable abuse of it—is in itself a complex. "A Moon for the Misbegotten" represents an extension in the treatment of two basic O'Neill themes: money and love seen in American terms. I say "American" though they appear at times to be better understood by theatergoers abroad.

O'Neill views us as a deeply frustrated people perpetually tortured by some guilt in connection with love—and even with money. That guilt is often related to the possibility that our love has been poisoned by greed, by lust, or by some other appetite that has not been integrated with it. (Remember how Abby in "Desire Under the Elms" is never quite sure till late in the play whether she loves Eben or is merely using him to get possession of the farm.) Therefore O'Neill shows us how we resist love. We can only resolve our frustration when, through a painful process, we become inspired or strong enough to surrender to and encompass love.

In "A Moon for the Misbegotten" we behold O'Neill dogged by his oppressive pessimism, which is saved only by his equally impassioned effort to transcend it. The burden of his pessimism is real—and not to be dismissed because it is somewhat immature—while his reaching toward the moon of salvation is undeniably affecting. To think of all this as "dated" or old-fashioned is in itself a wretched evasion—an intellectual, emotional, and moral evasion which constitutes one of the tragic crimes of our day.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

IN VERDI'S "Falstaff" we hear a refinement and subtilization of the art that is incandescent and robust in "Otello"; which is to say that we hear music which is all lightness and fluent grace and transparent texture. But lightness and fluent grace are not qualities Joseph Rosenstock can impart to a performance; nor are refinement of orchestral execution, sonority, and phrasing among the things he can achieve with an orchestra; and so the musical performance I heard him conduct at the City Center was coarse, raucous, and graceless. As for what I saw on the stage, I dislike the kind of scenery designed by John Boyt and disliked this specimen of it and the ugly colors of some of his women's costumes; I question the principle that seems to have governed Otto Erhardt's direction, that in an operatic comedy the characters must do a lot of prancing and dancing about, and disliked the prancing and dancing about that he got them to do in this one; and what John Butler got his dancers to do in the last scene I found embarrassing to watch.

The one pleasure the production did offer was the work of the cast. Outstanding was Walter Cassel (Ford), by virtue not only of his superb singing but of the authority and force of his presence, the ease and grace of his operation on the stage. And there was beautiful singing and competent acting also by Phyllis Curtin (Mistress Ford), Madelaine Chambers (Nannetta), Rosemary Kuhlmann (Mistress Page), Carol Smith (Dame Quickly), Richard Wentworth (Falstaff), and Jim Hawthorne (Fenton).

One last matter: The work was sung in an English translation by Chester Kallman; and the words I could hear were often remarkably skillful and literate; nevertheless the translation should not have been made and used, for reasons that Mr. Kallman himself stated in an article on the subject in the City Center's magazine. "It is always difficult for an audience to follow the text of an opera throughout," he said at one point; and at another, "when set to words [music] takes on a timbre that becomes an essential element of its language," so that "in changing the language sung the translator must change the very instrumentation of the opera he works upon," and "his best loyalty to the music will be but his least betrayal of it."

The argument for English has been that this betrayal was a price worth paying for the audience's ability to follow the text; but if, as Mr. Kallman concedes, the audience cannot follow the text throughout, there is nothing to justify the betrayal of the music. He may contend that the audience can follow the text sufficiently to know what is happening; but judging by my experience I would say it learned less about the plot of "Falstaff" from the words it could hear than from the synopsis in the program, and with this synopsis it might as well have heard the work in Italian. Mr. Kallman may contend that the English is worth having for the places where the words do come through clearly and the audience must understand them to get the humorous points and laugh. But I have seen audiences laugh more at Dame Quickly's repeated *Revere-e-e-enza!* as she curtsied, or her repeated *Po-o-o-vera donna!,* than the City Center audience did at her *With obeisance!* and *Unhappy woman!*

MOZART'S Piano Concertos K.488 and 491 are on a London record played by Curzon with the London Symphony under Krips. Curzon, whose performance in K.488 on 78's was so disappointing several years ago, plays this time again with dry, pedestrian, and inadequate matter-of-factness that is made worse by a dull and heavily percussive piano tone, and that serves K.491 no better than K.488. The orchestra is reproduced with excessive sharpness of violins. The Gieseking performance of K.488 and the Schnabel performance of K.491 are still the ones to acquire.

Listening to the first movement of

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Haydn's Symphony No. 67 played by Paul Sacher with the Vienna Symphony (Epic) I didn't hear what had delighted me when Stiedry first played the work with the New Friends of Music Orchestra; and when I played the old Victor recording of the Stiedry performance I discovered the reason to be the slow pace of the Sacher performance as against the Presto tempo which makes possible the enlivening sharpness of contour and accent in the Stiedry performance that is lacking in the Sacher. There is a similar inadequacy in Sacher's treatment of the finale; but the slow movement and minuet come out better; and he does well with the charming Symphony No. 53.

Another disappointment is the performance of Bach's D minor Concerto for two violins by Herman Krebbers and The Olof with the Hague Philharmonic under van Otterloo (Epic)—the stolidity resulting from van Otterloo's tempos, and the unattractive playing of the soloists.

On the other hand K. P. E. Bach's unfamiliar Piano Concerto in D played by Helen Schnabel with the Vienna Philharmonia Orchestra (whatever that is) under F. Charles Adler turns out to be an engaging work in which the soloist plays with a continuity of tension and outline that is very impressive. On the same Spa record is an earlier and slighter Trio for flute, violin, and piano that is played well by Camilo Wanausek, Walter Schneiderhan, and Miss Schnabel.

In Mahler's unfamiliar Symphony No. 6, which the Vienna Philharmonia plays under Adler (Spa), one hears a masterful operation of a large orchestral apparatus, with musical results that are interesting in the lovely Andante and the characteristic scherzo—both characteristically long-winded—but not in the first movement and finale, in which there is a straining for portentous utterance that isn't achieved for me, and the long-windedness is beyond my endurance. The unprecedentedly brief Intermezzo of Mahler's uncompleted Symphony No. 10, played by the same orchestra and conductor, is engaging, but the long Adagio is again, for me, an interminable straining for portentousness that is not achieved (in another Spa album with Bruckner's No. 3).

Letters

The Measure of Man

Dear Sirs: In his review of "The Measure of Man" [issue of April 24] Ralph Barton Perry wisely takes issue with Joseph Wood Krutch's attack on the scientific study of human behavior. We can solve our problems not by rejecting the methods of science but by putting them to better use. Mr. Perry's assurance, however, that we may continue to entertain certain prescientific notions of human behavior because science itself is on the verge of turning soft seems rather wishful and evades the real issue. Physics may or may not be undergoing a "creeping infiltration of teleology," but no one will deny that it continues to extend its control over nature. The question whether man is in some ultimate sense capable of free choice and purposive action or is wholly determined by forces outside himself has only a remote bearing upon the many frightening questions raised by the actual fact of scientific control. Techniques for manipulating human behavior have gone far beyond the "moral education and persuasion" which Mr. Perry is willing to countenance, and science is busily engaged in carrying them still farther. Who is to take advantage of these techniques is a question which no mere "sympathetic understanding of the deeper trends and implications of science" will help us to answer.

It may be significant that Mr. Krutch chose to direct his attack at a work of fiction—my "ignoble Utopia," "Walden Two"—rather than my more recent factual "Science and Human Behavior." The behavioral processes which may be exploited for purposes of control are too numerous, and are now too well understood, to be dismissed simply because they do not fall in line with some preconception of the nature of man.

Cambridge, Mass. B. F. SKINNER

CORRECTION: The name of the author of the article, Ohio on a Noisy Bender, which appeared in last week's issue, was incorrectly given as Richard L. Mayer instead of Richard L. Maher. We regret the error.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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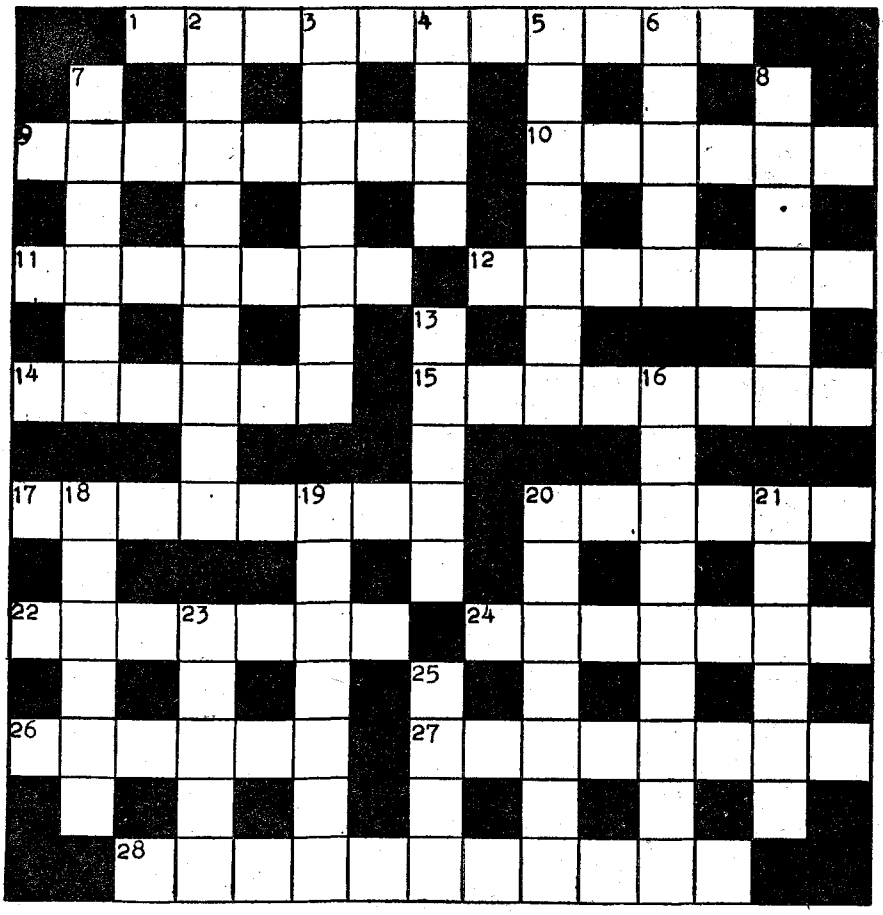

ACROSS

1 Beachhead equipment? (7, 4)
9 Starting out by auto, the head of 3 reaches an end which one trusts is fitting. (8)
10 See 4 down.
11 The Platonic school of philosophy. (7)
12 Did a backward individual turn in here? (7)
14 and 15. Tired before eight hours, usually. (3, 2, 1, 4, 4)
17 Fundamental social assembly. (8)
20 Ask Einstein to show them to you! (6)
22 See 24 across.
24 and 22. Implying a lovely evening? (7, 2, 5)
26 Split T-formation on both sides should make a firm stand. (6)
27 Sizeable trick on the captain's boat. (8)
28 Genesis? Incorporate a change in it! (11)

DOWN

2 Postscript associated with a note to the staff. (5, 4)
3 Turn over in the morning! Turn over in the morning! (7)
4 and 10 across. Roosevelt's reference was not to the ancients of 17. (4, 3, 3)
5 Greeting of fair-weather friends? (4, 3)
6 Element-ary study for a poet? (5)
7 Original 23? (6)
8 One who refuses to accept a measure? (6)
13 Grown some time before last month? (5)
16 This could make one whiter. (9)
18 Convince something that might go on as shooting? (6)
19 Clean space, it could be! (7)
20 If one breaks this leg, it proves one's dexterity. (7)
21 Ubangi chief in Africa. (6)
23 The indecision of a hair-dresser? (5)
25 Eye. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 565

ACROSS:—1 and 6 TATTLETALE GRAY; 10 MATADOR; 11 MARABOU; 12 HOMESPUN; 15 OASIS; 17 PRECURSOR; 19 DESPAIRED; 21 DOWEL; 23 TRUMP; 24, 25 and 13 THE POWER OF THE PRESS; 27 MODICUM; 28 SATIETY; 29 SODA; 30 LADY BE GOOD.

DOWN:—2 TATTOOS; 3 LODGE; 4 TERM PAPER; 5 LEMON; 7 and 1 RUBBER STAMP; 8 YOURS TRULY; 9 PROPOUND; 14 FOOD STAMPS; 16 STAMP ACT; 18 ENDLESSLY; 20 SOUNDED; 22 WHERETO; 24 TAMPA; 26 BYRD.

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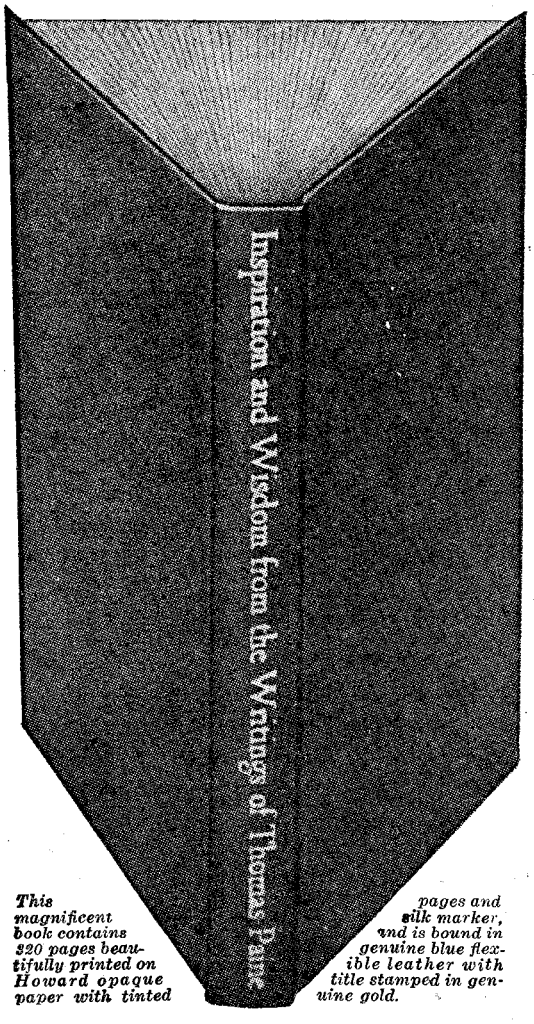

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